

CONSTITUTION
OF
THE UNITED STATES,
AND
WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



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THE

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,

WITH A COMPLETE INDEX;

AND

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS,

TO WHICH ARE APPENDED THE EXCEEDINGLY INTERESTING
ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN ITEMS AND PARAGRAPHS
IN WASHINGTON'S ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, THAT
HE AFTERWARDS EITHER OMITTED OR
AMENDED.

WITH

A SYNOPSIS, PARALLEL, AND SPHERE OF
THE NATIONAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS.

BY

JOSEPH BARTLETT BURLEIGH, LL.D.

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PERMANENT STEREOTYPED EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:
CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFFELINGER,
819 & 821 MARKET STREET.

1872.

JK 113
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PREFACE.

THIS unique compendium of political science is designed to enlighten, harmonize, and advance to the highest prosperity every section of the United States, by popularizing the National Constitution and the parting counsels of the Father of his country. These most revered of all uninspired documents were carefully and deliberately considered by the illustrious founders of our Government for months before their promulgation. The Holy Scriptures, the national compact, and the advice of the world's greatest civil exemplar, form the most useful and sacred memorials that can be presented from one to another as a sincere token of regard to be handed down and treasured as ancestral reliques, and prized higher and higher by each succeeding generation. The Bible, by Church munificence, is made the birthright of every family. The supreme code of self-government, and the farewell address of Washington, ought, by State munificence, to be made the souvenir of every home. As our Commonwealth gains continental dimensions, additions to the Constitution will inevitably be made to suit the progress of future ages, and the additional wants required by the vast augmenting territory and population. Washington presided at the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. He recommended it as "the result of the spirit of amity, mutual deference, and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable," and used his utmost personal influence to secure its adoption. The revival of that noble spirit of self-sacrificing devotion to the best interests of our whole country is more essential now than ever. The great chart of civil liberty and the Farewell Address of its most illustrious devotee are inseparable. They form a political creed as sacred to a self-governing people as the Bible is to a Christian nation. The antique style, the peculiar spelling, use of capitals and punctuation, are faithfully delineated in this Script edition. The extreme solicitude of Washington is exemplified in the one hundred and fifteen alterations he made from his original manuscript. The enchantment of curiosity is thus given to this most useful and sacred relique of the illustrious founders.

The fearfully malignant disease — total insensibility and pallor of death — is no more appalling to the friends of a patient than the constantly increasing depravity and ignorance — the stolidity of legislators — and the self-complaisance of the people of a republic is to true friends of rational liberty. To pass by the most revolting strides of vice and crime engendered by the unutterable sufferings of war during the past ten years, the census of the United States proves the following astounding facts: — In 1840, there were in all the New England States only fourteen thousand adult people who could not read or write. In 1860, the number had increased to eighty-seven thousand. In New York, the number increased from forty-seven thousand to one hundred and twenty-one thousand; in Pennsylvania, from thirty-six thousand to seventy-five thousand; in Texas, from five to nineteen thousand; and in Tennessee, from sixty-two to seventy-four thousand. In 1870, there were in the United States over three millions of people over twenty years of age, making about one million five hundred thousand voters, who could not either read or write. Instead of *diminishing*, the *evil is on the rapid increase* in every State of the Union. Even in the very cradle of liberty, one of the most refined and enlightened cities of the world, it is estimated that there is an annual average of twenty thousand children, between five and sixteen years of age, who do not attend any school.* This Government exists only by the consent of the governed. Its ratio of prosperity is entirely dependent on increasing virtue and intelligence. Every State is responsible, through its legislators, for the deplorable evil of *constantly growing ignorance, vice, and revolting crime*. He who refuses voting to relieve helpless and starving children, leaves a life-long stain on his reputation. In reality, the legislators who are too weak-kneed to stand up to duty and contribute their mite by their votes to secure the certain diffusion of the mere rudiments of an education and a knowledge of our inestimable system of civil polity to every child, is only in name a successor of the immortal founders of our unparalleled wise system of government. The warning voice of history, the unerring mirror of the future, proves that increasing ignorance, and the consequent degradation among the many, and the gradually increasing wealth and power of

the few, are utterly subversive of every principle of free government. Of all systems of civil polity, republics, from the cajolery of office-seekers and degeneracy of the illiterate masses, have heretofore been the most fickle and unstable. Self-adulation has been pre-eminent. The proud Greeks and Romans boasted of the perpetuity of their institutions even when tottering on the brink of ruin. Monarchical Prussia has advanced from an insignificant position through her *wise system of free schools, and the compulsory physical and mental training of all her children*, to the highest degree of renown. Ninety-four per cent. of her intelligent armies can read and write: hence they successfully turned the tide of invasion against superior numbers, only about twenty per cent. of whom could read and write, and overthrew the most warlike and haughty empire of modern times.

Proper elementary instruction is as much the birthright of every child as its daily food. The inequality of the mental gifts of the citizens of a nation are similar to the inequality of the different intellectual capacities of children of the same family. There are always some specially favored by nature. This very inequality redounds to the greater efficiency and happiness of the Union. As wise parents use no impartiality, but cultivate the faculties of each child to the utmost, so it is self-evident to all, of whatever religious or political creed, that even the least favored by nature have souls to exalt both in time and for eternity. This then makes the weak in intellect an equal, not only as an upholder or destroyer of freedom at the ballot-box, but also as a copartner for a blissful immortality. Hence, it is not only just, but a State is in duty bound to *provide the means AND REQUIRE THE INSTRUCTION OF ALL HER CHILDREN* in the fundamental principles of rational government; for the renown and power of a commonwealth is best perpetuated by the highest possible development of all its inhabitants.

Our model institutions are imminently endangered for the want of being properly understood and appreciated. Our system of civil polity is contrary to the usages and customs of a great majority of the nations of ancient and modern times. An insignificant minority may, by continued agitation, after a series of successive turns of the political wheel in our Presidential elections, come into power. Antagonism of real or fancied local interests, in addition to the chagrin and disappointment of a long dominant party, may thus give an opportunity to some ambitious general, a Cæsar, or a Bonaparte, to convert the popular executorship into the imperial purple. Washington attained his pre-eminent position to ennoble human nature and bless the world, only by the most ceaseless, vigilant, sedulous home-training.* Legislative enactments shape the destiny of nations. There is an absolute positive necessity for a righteous law to impart, without a single exception, elementary instruction at the expense of a State, if need be, to every child. This will have a levelling tendency upward, by ennobling every humble family throughout the entire Union. To inspire all with the pure patriotism of Washington, every home should have, at the expense of a State, if necessary, the chief crowning work of all his labors, the Constitution, and his Farewell Address. This is the only way to insure the perpetuation of our inimitable just system of self-government.

The adult pauper population sent to this country by the enemies of free government are generally neither able to read nor write. Their idea of liberty is unrestrained licentiousness. Hence, they plunge into all manner of vice and dissipation. The poor-houses and prisons of all the Atlantic cities are filled with more than two to one of this class. Their children—ragged and wretched, deprived, through *lax, inefficient State laws, of their just and most precious rights*, the means of learning how to read and write—follow in the footsteps of their parents, grow callous, and become the *sappers*, instead of the *supporters*, of our inestimable free institutions. It is as much the duty of legislators to protect a State against ignorance, and its certain corollary, depravity and revolting crime, as it is against pestilence. It is far better to *compulsorily educate*, than to *compulsorily imprison*, and bring to *untimely, ignoble death on the gallows*.

No wise, patriotic legislator can halt between two opinions, when the *startling, ASTOUNDING FACT* is demonstrated by the census of 1870, that the *illiterate, be-nighted vote holds the balance of political power*. That citizen serves God best who does most toward elevating and ennobling the condition of toiling millions. That State will stand forth in pre-eminent lustre, in the great galaxy forever, that *first enacts and efficiently executes the statute to give every child his natural, inalienable birthright, the means to learn how to read, understand, and appreciate the laws of his country and his Creator*.

* See the Thinker, Part II., pages 114, 121, 124, 128, 131, 151, 176. Also Thinker, Part III., pages 41, 44, 66, and 126.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

WASHINGTON, OCT. 1, 1850.

This is to certify, that Joseph Bartlett Burleigh's Script Edition of the U. S. Constitution with the Amendments, has been carefully collated with the originals in the Archives of this Department, and proved to be accurate in the CAPITALS, ORTHOGRAPHY, TEXT, and PUNCTUATION.

Dan Webster
SECRETARY OF STATE.

W S French
CHIEF CLERK.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 3, 1850.

I have carefully compared Burleigh's Script Edition of the American Constitution and the Amendments appended, with the original manuscript and the twelve Amendments, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ADOPTION, and have found that it minutely delineates the original documents, with all their peculiarities.

It may be proper to add, that other Amendments have been proposed, but only the aforesaid twelve have been constitutionally ratified.

James Macie
KEEPER OF THE ARCHIVES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPT. 30, 1850.

I have critically compared Burleigh's Script Constitution of the United States, and all its Amendments, with the original documents deposited at the Department of State, and have found them in every respect alike, even to the minutest particular.

Josiah Melvin

PROOF-READER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

THE following Script is an exact copy, in capitals, orthography, text, and punctuation, of the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, as proposed by the Convention held at Philadelphia, September 17, 1787, and since ratified by the several States; with the Amendments thereto.

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Constitution established by the People

Article. I.

Section. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Of the Legislative power.

Representatives,
how chosen.

Section. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

Qualification of Representa-
tives

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Apportion-
ment of
Representa-
tives and
direct tax-
es.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of

free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia

Census every ten years.

ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

Vacancies,
how filled.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

Representatives
choose officers
and bring impeachments.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Senate,
how chosen.

Section. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Senators
classed.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first

Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

Vacancies,
how filled.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

Qualifica-
tions of Se-
nators.

The Vice President of the United

Vice Pres-
ident to
preside

States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

Officers of
the Senate.

The Senate shall choose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

Trial of
impeach-
ments.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment
on im-
peach-
ment

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualifica-

tion to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Effect of

Section. 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

Manner of
electing
members
of Con-
gress.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Congress
assemble
annually

Section. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns

Elections,
how judg-
ed.

Quorum.

Absent members.

Rules.

Expulsion.

Journals
to be kept
and pub-
lishedYas and
Nays.

and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yea's and Nay's of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the

Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Adjournments.

Section. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

Compensation.

Privileges.

Members
not ap-
pointed to
Office.

Officers of
govern-
ment can-
not be
members.

Revenue
bills.

Bills to be
presented
to the Pre-
sident.

His pow-
ers over
them.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section. 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall

sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it

Proceedings on his veto.

Bills to be laws if not returned in ten days.

shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section. 8. The Congress shall have Power

Joint orders or
resolutions
to be approved
by the Presi-
dent.

Powers of
Congress

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of

Lay taxes.

Pay debt.

General welfare—

Duties uniform.

Borrow money

Commerce.

Naturalization.

Bankruptcy.

Coin money.

Weights and measures.

Counterfeiting

counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

Post roads.

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

Promote arts and science.

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

Inferior courts.

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

Piracies, &c.

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

Declare war, and make captures.

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

Raise armies.

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that

Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

Navy.

To provide and maintain a Navy;

Rules and articles of war.

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the Land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

Call out militia.

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

Organize and govern militia.

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such Dis-

Officers militia.

Exclusive legislation over seat of Government.

trict (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think

And over
forts, arsenals,
docks
&c.

To make
general
laws to
carry pow-
ers into ef-
fect.

Importa-
tion of
slaves al-
lowed till
1808

proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or *ex post facto* Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Re-

Habeas corpus.

Attainder and *ex post facto* laws

Direct taxes.

No exportation duty

Commerce between the States.

venue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any Present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section. 10. No State shall enter

Money,
how drawn
from Treas-
ury

To be pub-
lished.

No nobili-
ty.

Foreign
presents
and titles.

Powers de-
 nied to the
States.

into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, *ex post facto* Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

Powers denied to the States.

Other powers denied to States.

Further
denial of
powers to
states.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article. II.

Section. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors,

President
United
States.

Electors,
how ap-
pointed.

equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible

This paragraph is no longer in force. It was rendered null and void by the 12th amendment proposed at the 1st Session of the 8th Congress Dec. 12, 1803, and adopted by the constitutional number of States in 1804. Public notice of which was given by the Secretary of State, Sept. 25, 1804.

Election and meeting of electors.

Who may be elected President.

For Vice-
Presid't,
See Sec.
xii. Am'ts.

to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In case of
removal,
death, &c.,
of the Pres-
ident his
powers de-
volve on
the Vice
President.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated

Compensa-
tion of Pre-
sident

Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Section. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of

Requirements.

His oath.

Powers
and duties
of the Presi-
dent.

the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall

Making
treaties

Appoint-
ment of
public offi-
cers.

be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect

Vacancies
in office

Further
powers
and duties
of the Presi-
dent.

Receive
ambassa-
dors, &c.Commis-
sion offi-
cersImpeach-
ment.

to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the officers of the United States.

Section. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III.

Of the Ju-
dicial pow-
ers.

Section. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The

Concern-
ing the
Judges.

Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens

Extent of
the judi-
cial power.

See
Amend-
ments,
Art. xi.

of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes

Of original
and appellate
jurisdiction
of the Su-
preme
Court.

Trials by
jury.

And where
held.

shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

Treason

Evidence

No corruption of blood

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article. IV.

Acts of
State ac-
credited.

Section. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Privileges
of citizen-
ship.

Section. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

Fugitives
from jus-
tice to be
delivered
up.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Fugitive
slaves to
be deliv-
ered up

Section. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

New
States

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules

To every
and other
property of
U. States

and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Republican form of government guaranteed to every State.

Protection of States.

Section. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article. V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to

Amendments to this Constitution.

this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

PROVISO

Article. VI.

Debts of
former
Govern-
ment re-
cognised

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

What con-
stitutes
the su-
preme law

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Judges
bound to
support.

Oath of
public offi-
cers to
support
the Con-
stitution.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and

all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

No religious test.

Article. VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Ratification of the Constitution.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of

When formed.

the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G^o: Washington -- Presid^t.

and Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire	{ John Langdon Nicholas Gilman
Massachusetts	{ Nathaniel Gorham Rufus King
Connecticut	{ W ^m : Sam ^l : Johnson Roger Sherman
New York...	Alexander Hamilton Wil: Livingston
New Jersey	{ David Brearley. W ^m : Paterson.
Pennsylvania	{ Jona: Dayton B Franklin Thomas Mifflin Rob ^t Morris Geo Clymer Tho ^s FitzSimons

	Jared Ingersoll
	James Wilson
	Gouv Morris
	Geo: Read
	Gunning Bedford jun
Delaware	John Dickinson
	Richard Bassett
	Jaco: Broom
	James McHenry
Maryland	Dan of St Tho ^s Jenifer
	Dan ^l Carroll
	John Blair—
Virginia	James Madison Jr.
	W ^m Blount
North Carolina	Rich ^d Dobbs Spaight.
	Hu Williamson
	J. Rutledge
South Carolina	Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
	Charles Pinckney
	Pierce Butler:
Georgia	William Few
	Abr Baldwin
Attest William Jackson Secretary	

Proposed
first Con-
gress
First Ses-
sion March
4th 1789.

The following articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, have been ratified by the requisite number of States, and, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution, have become a part of that instrument.

Rights of
conscie-
nce, free-
dom of the
press, &c.

Article the first.... Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Right to
bear arms.

Article the second... A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Of quart-
ering
troops.

Article the third..... No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of

the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article the fourth.....The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Right to be secure from searches, general warrants, &c.

Article the fifth.....No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall

Indict-
ments,
punish-
ments, &c.

Judic-
ments,
punish-
ments, &c

any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Trial in
criminal
cases, and
the rights
of a defendant.

Article the sixth.....In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have Compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in

his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Article the seventh...In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Trials in civil cases.

Article the eighth...Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Bail and fines.

Article the ninth...The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Rights reserved.

Article the tenth.....The powers not delegated to the United States by the

Powers reserved to the States.

Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Proposed at the first session of the third Congress March 5th, 1791; and declared to have been adopted by the Constitutional number of States, Jany. 8th, 1798.

Judicial power.

See Art. iii. sec. 2.

Proposed Dec. 12th, 1803; and declared to have been adopted Sept. 25th, 1804.

Manner of electing the President and Vice-President.

Article the eleventh....The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Article the twelfth....The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of

all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;

Manner of
electing
the Pres-
ident and
Vice-Pres-
ident.

—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by

Manner of
electing
the Presi-
dent and
Vice-Pres-
ident

ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. — The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a

majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Manner of electing the President and Vice-President.

Agreeable to the third paragraph of Art. II. Section I. of the original Constitution, Congress passed a law on the 23rd. of January, 1845, "that the electors of President and Vice-President shall be appointed in each state on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in the month of November of the year in which they are to be appointed. *Provided*, That each state may by law provide for the filling of any vacancy or vacancies which may occur in its college of electors when such college meets to give its electoral vote. *And provided also*, When any state shall have held an election for the purpose of choosing electors, and shall fail to make a choice on the day aforesaid, then the electors may be appointed on a subsequent day in such manner as the state shall by law provide."

Election day determined by Congress.

Vacancies.

In case of no election.

Note. The Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution, have been numbered in the order of their adoption, (not as proposed). The 11th and 12th Articles were written on separate pieces of parchment, and were not numbered, when proposed; they have assumed the above titles by their adoption.

ARTICLE XIII.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECT. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

RECONSTRUCTION OF STATES.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction, the equal protection of the laws.

SECT. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed ; but whenever the right to vote at any election for electors of President and Vice-President, or for United States Representatives in Congress, executive and judicial officers, or the members of the Legislatures thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECT. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative

in Congress, elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof, but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECT. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for the payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned ; but neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECT. 5. Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECT. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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Messrs. CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFFELINGER call especial attention to their new edition of the THINKER, No. IV., or the AMERICAN MANUAL. It is considered one of the most useful school readers ever published. It contains a brief outline of the origin and progress of political power, and the law of nations; a lucid exposition of the duties and responsibilities of voters, jurors, and civil magistrates; a literal copy of the United States Constitution, and a clear explanation of every part thereof, with questions, definitions, and marginal exercises; designed to develop and strengthen the moral and intellectual powers of youth, and impart an accurate knowledge of our social and political institutions. Adapted to the use of schools, academies, and general readers, by JOSEPH BARTLETT BURLEIGH, LL.D.

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THE first edition of the AMERICAN MANUAL was published in 1848. The design was to incite an ardent love for carrying out in letter and spirit the true principles of constitutional liberty, founded by Washington and his compatriots, and prized by them in their declining years as the *crowning effort, the masterpiece of all their labors.* The work received the hearty approval of the most illustrious Americans. It was introduced into the Public Schools of many of the large cities, as a standard elementary book on Political Science. Some of the ablest teachers have used it for a series of years, and practically tested the great utility of interesting the parents as well as their children in the study and appreciation of our system of free government. Patrons of schools have frequently expressed their delight at the introduction of the Manual, and acknowledged that *in it they had read for the first time* the Constitution of the United States, and comprehended from its clear explanation the nature of our unequalled social and political institutions. These opinions, with the happy effect of the marginal exercises in developing the mental power of youth, have induced the Author to retain the first 284 pages of the edition of 1848.

A want of the just appreciation and observance of the *rights of all the States, and of the Constitution* which made them a united nation, caused hundreds of thousands of our noblest young men to go down to premature graves. To avert the return of such a direful calamity, it is incumbent on the guardians of public education to see that the elements of our wise system of civil polity, and the pure patriotic spirit of its originators and supporters, are faithfully inculcated in all the schools. Universal correct education is *the sure and the only infallible preventive* of civil war. There is no mystery about the Constitution; it is not *a law above the people*, but a series of **PLAIN EXPLICIT ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT**, formed by the purest body of patriots that ever existed, that they and their descendants, although perchance citizens of different States, might continue pre-eminently *citizens of the same great federated nation forever*, and prove "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

THE CONSTITUTION IS REALLY AS MUCH OF A STANDARD FOR A SELF-GOVERNING PEOPLE, AS THE BIBLE IS AN EXEMPLAR FOR A CHRISTIAN NATION. The latter might as well expect its members to live in accordance with the infallible principles of Christianity, without the proper study of the great standard of true piety, and the public teaching of its law in every church, as for an independent people to expect citizens to have self-guiding principles, and be able to transmit them in unsullied purity to posterity, without the proper study and efficient teaching of the great code of Republican Government. The inculcation of piety to God and good-will to men from every pulpit, and the instilment of the elements of constitutional liberty and an abiding sense of right in every school, are indispensable requisites for a self-governing nation.

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* A stands for AMENDMENT.

FAREWELL ADDRESS.*

FRIENDS, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

THE period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the Executive Government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust [¹]* it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country—and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but [am supported by]² a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

* Figures and brackets do not appear in the original, but are here used to show where emendations were made by WASHINGTON; which prove his great care and prudence in preparing the address, as well as his exceeding anxiety to transmit in unsullied purity THE CONSTITUTION, and ITS REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. ~~DO~~ See page 93. A figure, inside of the bracket, thus [1], denotes erasure; but a word or words inside of the bracket denote that some other word or words were substituted by WASHINGTON instead of those which he had previously written.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire.—I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn.—The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign Nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.—

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and [am persuaded]³ whatever partiality [may be retained]⁴ for my services, [that]⁵ in the present circumstances of our country [you]⁶ will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, [with]⁷ which, I first [undertook]⁸ the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion.—In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed [towards]⁹ the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable—Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, [perhaps]^{9t} still more in the eyes of others, has [strengthened]¹⁰ the motives to distidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admo-

nishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome.—Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it. [¹¹]

In looking forward to the moment, which is [intended]¹¹ to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment [of]¹² that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country,—for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though [in usefulness unequal]¹³ to my zeal.—If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, [¹⁴] under circumstances in which the Passions agitated in every direction were liable to [mislead],¹⁵ amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism [the constancy of your support]¹⁵ was the essential prop of the efforts and [a]¹⁶ guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.—Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to the grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows [¹⁷] that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence —that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work

of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory [¹⁸] of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop.—But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, [urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer] ¹⁹ to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, [²⁰] and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a People.—These will be offered to you with the more freedom as you can only see in them, the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can [possibly] ²¹ have no personal motive to bias his counsels.—[Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.] ²²

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.—

The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you.—It is justly so;—for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence; [the support] of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; [²³] of your prosperity [²⁴]; of that very Liberty which you

so highly prize.—But as it is easy to foresee, that from [different]²⁵ causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth;—as this is the point in your [political]²⁶ fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness;—that you should cherish [²⁷] a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment [to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discoun-tenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.]²⁸

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest.—Citizens [by birth or choice of a com-mon country],²⁹ that country has a right to concen-trate your affections.—The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation [³⁰] derived from local discrimina-tions.—With slight shades of difference, you have the same Religion, Manners, Habits, and political Principles.—You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together.—The Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils,

and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings and successes.—

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your Interest.—Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North* in an [unrestrained]³¹ intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal Laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter [³²] great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise—and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *South* in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation enlivened;—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted.—The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.—The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort,—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble

community of interest, as *one Nation*.—[Any other]³³ tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, [whether derived]³⁴ from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign Power, must be intrinsically precarious. [³⁵]

[³⁶] While [then] every part of our Country thus [feels]³⁷ an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts³⁸ [combined cannot fail to find] in the united mass of means and efforts [³⁹] greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their Peace by foreign Nations; and, [what is]⁴⁰ of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which [so frequently]⁴¹ afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce; but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown Military establishments, which under any form of Government are inauspicious to liberty, and which [are to be regarded]⁴² as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty: In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to [every]⁴³ reflecting and virtuous mind,—[and]⁴⁴ exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let

experience solve it.—To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal.—[We are authorised]⁴⁵ to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment.^[46] With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, [affecting]⁴⁷ all parts of our country ^[48], while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be [reason]⁴⁹ to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.^[50]

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that [any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by]⁵¹ *Geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; [whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views.]⁵² One of the expedients of Party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts.—You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations;—They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.—The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this [head].⁵³—They have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the Treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction of that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in

the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI.—They have been witnesses to the formation of two Treaties, that with G. Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our Foreign Relations, towards confirming their prosperity.—Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured?—Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren, and connect them with Aliens?—

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable.—No alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute.—They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced.—Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns.—This government, the offspring of our own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support.—Respect for its authority, compliance with its Laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty.—The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter

their Constitutions of Government.—But the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People, is sacredly obligatory upon all.—The very idea of the power and the right of the People to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with [the real]⁵⁴ design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put, [⁵⁵] in the place of the delegated will of the Nation, the will of a party;—often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the community;—and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.—However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, [⁵⁶] they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.—

Towards the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is re-

quisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care [the]⁵⁷ spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts.—One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, [and thus to]⁵⁸ undermine what cannot be directly overthrown.—In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a Country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion:—and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty is indispensable—Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest Guardian.—[It is indeed little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the Society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.]⁵⁹

I have already intimated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on Geographical discriminations.—Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the

most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, generally.

This Spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from [our]⁶⁰ nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the [human]^{60½} mind.—It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controuled or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.—[⁶¹]

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism.—The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an Individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of Party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.—

It serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public administration.— It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection.—It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access [to the Government itself through

the channels of party passions. 'Thus, the policy and the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.]⁶²

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the Administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the Spirit of Liberty. — This within certain limits is probably true—and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party.—But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged.—From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose,—and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it.—A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, [instead of warming, it should]⁶³ consume.—

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another.—The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, [⁶⁴] whatever [the form of government, a real]⁶⁵ despotism.—A just estimate of that love of power, and [⁶⁶] proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position.—The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different

depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal [against]⁶⁷ invasions by the others. has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern ; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.

—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them.—If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation ; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the [customary]⁶⁸ weapon by which free governments are destroyed.—The precedent [⁶⁹] must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or [transient]⁷⁰ benefit which the use [⁷¹] can at any time yield.—

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports.—In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens.—The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them.—A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity.—Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice ? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion.—Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure—reason and experience both forbid us

to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.—

’Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government.—The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of Free Government.—Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?—

[Promote then as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.—In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.]—⁷²

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit.—One method of preserving it is to use it as [sparingly]⁷³ as possible:—avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it—avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by [shunning]⁷⁴ occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of Peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should [co-operate.]⁷⁵—To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue—that to have Revenue there must be taxes—that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant—that the intrinsic

embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.—

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations. [⁷⁶] Cultivate peace and harmony with all.—Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it?—It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.—Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.—Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that [permanent, inveterate]⁷⁷ antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.—The Nation, which indulges towards another [an]⁷⁸ habitual hatred or [an]⁷⁹ habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.—Anti-

pathy in one Nation against another [⁸⁰] disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.—Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests.—The Nation prompted by ill-will and resentment sometimes impels to War the Government, contrary to [the best]⁸¹ calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the [national]⁸² propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject ;—at other times, it makes the animosity of the Nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives.—The peace often, sometimes perhaps the Liberty, of Nations has been the victim.—

So likewise a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils.—Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one [⁸³] the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification : It leads also to concessions to the favourite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions ; [⁸⁴] by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, [⁸⁵] and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld ; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite Nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country,

without odium, sometimes even with popularity:—gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.—

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot.—How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, [I conjure you to]⁸⁶ believe me, [fellow citizens],⁸⁷ the jealousy of a free people ought to be [constantly]⁸⁸ awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government.—But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.—Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other.—Real Patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.—

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations is, [in extending our commercial relations],⁸⁹ to have with them as little *Political* connection as pos-

sible.—So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with [⁹⁰] perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.—

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation.—Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.—Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by [⁹¹] artificial [ties]⁹² in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, [or]⁹³ the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course.—If we remain one People, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve [upon]⁹⁴ to be scrupulously respected.—When [⁹⁵] belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will [not]⁹⁶ lightly hazard the giving us provocation [⁹⁷]; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by [⁹⁸] justice shall counsel.—

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation?—Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground?—Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour or caprice?—

'T is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, [⁹⁹] with any portion of the foreign world;—so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it—for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidel-

ity to [existing]¹⁰⁰ engagements, ([I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs],¹⁰¹ that honesty is [always]¹⁰² the best policy.)—[I repeat it therefore let those engagements]¹⁰³ be observed in their genuine sense.—But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.—

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to [temporary]¹⁰⁴ alliances for extraordinary emergencies.—

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all Nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest.—But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand:—neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences;—consulting the natural course of things;—diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing;—establishing with Powers so disposed—in order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our Merchants, and to enable the Government to support them—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit; but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors [from]¹⁰⁵ another,—that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character—that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more.—There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from

Nation to Nation.—'T is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my Countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression, I could wish,—that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of Nations.—But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit; some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.—

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public Records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to You, and to the World.—To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting War in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April 1793 is the index to my plan.—Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of Your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me:—uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, [¹⁰⁶] I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and inter-

est, to take a Neutral position.—Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.—

[The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, [it is not necessary]¹⁰⁷ on this occasion [to detail].¹⁰⁸ I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.—]¹⁰⁹

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every Nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of Peace and Amity towards other Nations.—

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience.—With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my Administration, I am unconscious of intentional error—I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I [may]¹¹⁰ have committed many errors.—[Whatever they may be I]¹¹¹ fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate [the evils to which they may tend.]¹¹²—I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults

of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest. [¹¹³]

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for [several] ¹¹⁴ generations; —I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good Laws under a free Government,—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers. [¹¹⁵]

G^o. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, }
19th September. } 1796.

MATTER EMENDED BY WASHINGTON.

The following expressions are those which were first written by Washington, and afterwards erased or changed. What he finally substituted is, in the Address, included inside of the brackets, which are marked by the corresponding figures.

1. For another term.—**2.** Act under.—**3.** That.—**4.** Any portion of you may yet retain.—**5.** Even they.—**6.** —— **7.** Under.—**8.** Accepted.—**9.** To.—**9½,*** —— **10.** Not lessened.—
11. May I also have that of knowing in my retreat, that the involuntary errors, I have probably committed, have been the sources of no serious or lasting mischief to our country. I may then expect to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, I trust, of our mutual cares dangers and labours. (In the margin opposite this paragraph is the following note in Washington's Autograph also erased, "obliterated to avoid the imputation of affected modesty.")—**11½.** —— **12.** Demanded by.—**13.** Unequal in usefulness.—**14.** The constancy of your support.—**15.** Wander and fluctuate.—**15½.** —— **16.** The.—**17.** The only return I can henceforth make.—**18.** Or satisfaction.—**19.** Encouraged by the remembrance of your indulgent reception of my sentiments on an occasion not dissimilar to the present, urge me to offer.—**20.** And experience.—**21.** —— **22.** —— **23.** In every relation.—**24.** In every shape.—**25.** Various.—**26.** ——
27. Towards it.—**28.** That you should accustom yourselves to reverence it as the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity, adapting constantly your words and actions to that momentous idea; that you should watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenance whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the several parts.—
29. Of a common country by birth or choice.—**30.** To be.—**31.** Unfettered.—**32.** Many of the peculiar.—**33.** The.—**34.** Either.—
35. Liable every moment to be disturbed by the fluctuating combinations of the primary interests of Europe, which must be expected to regulate the conduct of the Nations of which it is composed.—**36.** And.—**37.** Finds.—**38.** Of it.—**39.** Cannot fail to find.—**40.** Which is an advantage.—**41.** Inevitably.—**42.** There is reason to regard.—**43.** Any.—**44.** They.—**45.** 'T is natural.—**46.** It

* The dash denotes that what appears in the Address marked by the corresponding figure was added.

may not impossibly be found, that the spirit of party, the machinations of foreign powers, the corruption and ambition of individual citizens are more formidable adversaries to the Unity of our Empire than any inherent difficulties in the scheme. Against these the mounds of national opinion, national sympathy and national jealousy ought to be raised.—**47.** As.—**48.** Have.—**49.** Cause in the fact itself.—

50. Besides the more serious causes already hinted as threatening our Union, there is one less dangerous, but sufficiently dangerous to make it prudent to be upon our guard against it. I allude to the petulance of party differences of opinion. It is not uncommon to hear the irritations which these excite vent themselves in declarations that the different parts of the United States are ill affected to each other, in menaces that the Union will be dissolved by this or that measure. Intimations like these are as indiscreet as they are intemperate. Though frequently made with levity and without any really evil intention, they have a tendency to produce the consequence which they indicate. They teach the minds of men to consider the Union as precarious;—as an object to which they ought not to attach their hopes and fortunes;—and thus chill the sentiment in its favour. By alarming the pride of those to whom they are addressed, they set ingenuity to work to depreciate the value of the thing, and to discover reasons of indifference towards it. This is not wise.—It will be much wiser to habituate ourselves to reverence the Union as the palladium of our national happiness; to accommodate constantly our words and actions to that idea, and to discountenance whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned. (In the margin opposite this *paragraph* are the words, “Not important enough.”)—**51.** Our parties for some time past have been too much characterized by.—

52. These discriminations,—the mere contrivance of the spirit of Party, always dexterous to seize every handle by which the passions can be wielded, and too skilful not to turn to account the sympathy of neighborhood), have furnished an argument against the Union as evidence of a real difference of local interests and views; and serve to hazard it by organizing larger districts of country, under the leaders of contending factions; whose rivalships, prejudices and schemes of ambition, rather than the true interests of the Country, will direct the use of their influence. If it be possible to correct this poison in the habit of our body politic, it is worthy the endeavours of the moderate and the good to effect it.—**53.** Subject.—**54.** —— **55.** It.—

56. And purposes.—**57.** A.—**58.** To.—**59.** Owing to you as I do a frank and free disclosure of my heart, I shall not conceal from you the belief I entertain, that your Government as at present constituted is far more likely to prove too feeble than too powerful.—**60.** Human.—**60¹.** —— **61.** In Republics of narrow extent, it is not difficult for those who at any time hold the reins of Power, and command the ordinary public favor, to overturn the established [constitution]^a in favor of their own aggrandizement.—The same thing may

likewise be too often accomplished in such Republics, by partial combinations of men, who though not in office, from birth, riches or other sources of distinction, have extraordinary influence and numerous [adherents.]^a—By debauching the Military force, by surprising some commanding citadel, or by some other sudden and unforeseen movement the fate of the Republic is decided.—But in Republics of large extent, usurpation can scarcely make its way through these avenues.—The powers and opportunities of resistance of a wide extended and numerous nation, defy the successful efforts of the ordinary Military force, or of any collections which wealth and patronage may call to their aid.—In such Republics it is safe to assert, that the conflicts of popular factions are the chief, if not the only inlets, of usurpation and Tyranny.—**62.** Through the channels of party passions. It frequently subjects the policy of our own country to the policy of some foreign country, and even enslaves the will of our Government to the will of some foreign Government.—**63.** It should not only warm, but.—**64.** Under.—**65.** Forms, a.—**66.** The.—**67.** From.—**68.** Usual and natural.—**69.** Of its use.—**70.** Temporary.—**71.** Itself.—**72.** Cultivate industry and frugality, as auxiliaries to good morals and sources of private and public prosperity.—Is there not room to regret that our propensity to expense exceeds our means for it? Is there not more luxury among us and more diffusively, than suits the actual stage of our national progress? Whatever may be the apology for luxury in a country, mature in the Arts which are its ministers, and the cause of national opulence—can it promote the advantage of a young country, almost wholly agricultural, in the infancy of the arts, and certainly not in the maturity of wealth? (Over this paragraph in the original a piece of paper is wafered, on which the passage is written as printed in the text.)—**73.** Little.—**74.** Avoiding.—**75.** Coincide.—**76.** And cultivate peace and harmony with all, for in public as well as in private transactions, I am persuaded that honesty will always be found to be the best policy.—**77.** Rooted.—**78.** A.—**79.** A.—**80.** Begets of course a similar sentiment in that other.—**81.** Its own.—**82.** ——**83.** Another.—**84.** 1stly.—**85.** 2dly.—**86.** ——**87.** My friends.—**88.** Incessantly.—**89.** ——**90.** Circumspection indeed, but with.
91. An.—**92.** Connection.—**93.** In.—**94.** To observe.—**95.** Neither of two.—**96.** ——**97.** To throw our weight into the opposite scale.—**98.** Our.—**99.** Intimate connections.—**100.** Pre-existing.—**101.** For I hold it to be as true in public, as in private transactions.—**102.** ——**103.** Those must.—**104.** Occasional.
105. At.—**106.** (And from men disagreeing in their impressions of the origin, progress, and nature of that war.)—**107.** Some of them of a delicate nature would be improperly the subject of explanation.—**108.** ——**109.** The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, some of them of a delicate nature, would be improperly the subject of explanation on this occasion. I will

barely observe that according to my understanding of the matter, that right so far from being denied by any belligerent Power, has been virtually admitted by all.—(This paragraph is then erased from the word "conduct," and the following sentence interlined, "would be improperly the subject of particular discussion on this occasion. I will barely observe that to me they appear to be warranted by well-established principles of the Laws of Nations as applicable to the nature of our alliance with France in connection with the circumstances of War, and the relative situation of the contending Parties." A piece of paper is afterwards wafered over both, on which the paragraph as it stands in the text is written, and on the margin is the following note: "This is the first draft, and it is questionable which of the two is to be preferred.")—**110.** — **111.** I deprecate the evils to which they may tend, and.—**112.** Them.—**113.** May I without the charge of ostentation add, that neither ambition nor interest has been the impelling cause of my actions—that I have never designedly misused any power confided to me nor hesitated to use one, where I thought it could redound to your benefit? May I without the appearance of affectation say, that the fortune with which I came into office is not bettered otherwise than by the improvement in the value of property which the quick progress and uncommon prosperity of our country have produced? May I still further add without breach of delicacy, that I shall retire without cause for a blush, with no sentiments alien to the force of those vows for the happiness of his country so natural to a citizen who sees in it the native soil of his progenitors and himself for four generations? (On the margin opposite this paragraph is the following note: "This paragraph may have the appearance of self-distrust and mere vanity.")—**114.** Four.—**115.** The paragraph beginning with the words, "May I without the charge of ostentation add," having been struck out, the following note is written on the margin of that which is inserted in its place in the text:—"Continuation of the paragraph preceding the last ending with the word 'rest.'"

LESSON I.*

(§ 1.) The original founders of the United States came from Europe. A 'majority of whom united in small 'companies and obtained 'charters to settle in America from the King of England. The 'mother-country took but little interest in the 'success and prosperity of her distant 'colonies, and left them to their own resources, and their own way to establish, in various and 'distant localities, a 'settlement in the new world.

(§ 2.) It was their 'ardent love of civil and 'religious liberty, indomitable energy, and 'implicit reliance on the aid of 'Divine Power that caused them to leave the 'comfortable homes of their childhood and the 'graves of their forefathers to select new 'abodes on the then 'uncultivated, malarious shores of the Western 'Continent.

(§ 3.) The first rules and 'regulations for civil government in this country, originated with these small colonies, 'comprising only a few 'parishes or school-districts. The citizens held public meetings and voted 'viva voce† for such 'regulations as were judged essential for their own self-'government. The restrictions were few. The people, though subjects of England, 'appear to have exercised sovereign power. (§ 4.) The 'taxes were not usually paid in money, but in setting apart certain days to work for 'public benefit. All 'assembled to make roads and build bridges. The 'church and the school-house — the emblems of 'science and piety, the undying 'harbingers of progress and greatness — were erected side by side by the 'voluntary labor and contributions of the entire 'population.

(§ 5.) The people chose their own leaders for 'warding off the terrors of the surrounding merciless 'savages, and their own ministers to teach them 'faith and hope when their number was 'decimated by fearfully contagious diseases, and 'starvation and extermination 'seemed to be the fate of every family. (§ 6.) Enlightened self-'government finally triumphed. 'Immigration rapidly began; school-districts increased to 'towns; counties were formed; and the colonies soon 'assumed the territorial dimension of States. The increase of population caused them to submit to heavier 'taxation to support minor colonial office-holders, and the 'governors who were appointed by the King of 'England to supervise and control his 'distant 'subjects.

(§ 7.) In form only the 'colonial resembled our present system of State-'governments — in spirit they were totally different. The representative 'department had no real power; every law enacted required the 'approval of the Governor and Council, who were

* Words indicated by the small figure 1 may be spelled and defined in reading. If the pupils are advanced, any other word or phrase may be used that will convey a similar meaning. See the last clause of Lesson II., page 20.

† By the living voice, *yea or nay*; *i. e.*, audibly, without any ballot or written scrap of paper.

appointed by, and held their ¹office only at the option of the Crown. But no law ¹became valid till after it had been sent to ¹England, and received the express ¹sanction of the King. (§ 8.) The British Government became keenly ¹vigilant to see the exact provisions of the ¹dormant charters carried into effect. ¹Parliament, jealous of the growing power, prosperity, and early ¹freedom of the colonies, began slowly but gradually to ¹trench on their just rights.

(§ 9.) Laws were ¹expressly enacted to depress ¹manufactures, and no iron ware of any kind was ¹allowed to be made in America. The object was to force the ¹inhabitants to buy all ¹manufactured goods of England. This plan ¹would secure in return for payment all ¹surplus productions at a cheap rate. (§ 10.) Parliament eventually ¹claimed and exercised the power of taxing, for the support of the ¹English Government, the ¹unrepresented ¹colonies in ALL CASES WHATEVER. A ¹light tax of only a few ¹pence a pound on tea ¹eventually led to the Revolutionary War. It was not the ¹amount, but the principle involved, that ¹caused the conflict that terminated in the ¹independence of the United States.

(§ 11.) The ¹Constitution of the United States is the government of the ¹people. They have limited its power to certain prescribed objects. It is supreme within its own appropriate ¹sphere. It represents all and acts for all. No local or even State ¹tribunal has any right to ¹impede, or in the slightest way interfere with, its just authority. It secures the ¹union of all the States, the dignity, the prosperity, the renown of the ¹nation. (§ 12.) The people of the United States, acting in a national ¹capacity, formed the national ¹government. The same people, acting within State ¹limits, have also formed local State constitutions. They have given to each certain definite and specified powers for ¹promoting individual and public ¹prosperity.

(§ 13.) Both national and State constitutions ¹emanate from the people, and they allow them to ¹exist solely for their benefit. The people are the ultimate ¹source of all power. For mutual benefit they have in the most solemn and sacred ¹way given for definite and specified ¹purposes some of their most precious rights to both the national and the State ¹governments. (§ 14.) But they have not ¹delegated all power to either government; for they are the sovereign rulers, and may at any ¹time, in a constitutional way, alter, or even ¹abolish either the national or a State constitution. But whenever a State ¹law conflicts with a national ¹statute, the general ¹welfare requires, and the people have declared, that the national law shall be ¹supreme.

(§ 15.) The ¹people, then, of the entire country ¹form one self-governing nation, and are ¹sovereign, not as integral parts, ¹but as one combined whole. When ¹laws of any kind conflict, the sovereign power rests with the greatest ¹number occupying the largest ¹territory. (§ 16.) Hence, the constitution of a State is ¹supreme over the entire people of a ¹State, and the constitution of the ¹United States is supreme over all State ¹constitutions and over

the entire people of every State in the Union. For it ¹emanated directly from the entire ¹people of the whole country in their ¹highest sovereign power, and can only be ¹peacefully altered or ¹abolished in the way prescribed in the ¹constitution. Every voter is a ¹part of the Government of the United States, and is ¹personally interested in its success and ¹prosperity, for it is *his own*, the ¹same as is *his town*, county, or State—all make one united, inseparable, ¹undivided whole, of which he forms one ¹individual part.

(§ 17.) A citizen of a school-district may ¹suffer from unjust laws enacted by a ¹majority of his own neighbors. The ¹citizen of a ¹village, city, town, county, or State may be ¹debarred of certain ¹inalienable rights. (§ 18.) The wise, the ¹correct way for a self-governing citizen to act, is to appeal always to ¹reason, and never to violence, either ¹alone or in combination against the ¹majority, who may each have equally as good ¹intentions, and be ¹equally as sincere and honest in believing his own ¹course right.

(§ 19.) Even the most ¹exalted in patriotism and piety are occasionally liable to ¹error. No one is infallible. It becomes every one who thinks himself sadly ¹wronged by a neighbor, or a ¹political party, to examine his own motives and position. The ¹illustrious Washington* in early life had an exciting, bitter ¹controversy with a Colonel Payne. They parted on the most ¹unfriendly terms. (§ 20.) It is one of the noblest ¹traits of Washington's life, that after careful examination and mature ¹reflection, he found Payne in the right. He then ¹immediately made a ¹voluntary and ¹suitable apology.

(§ 21.) The ¹Saviour's ¹injunction, Blessed are the peacemakers, ¹applies, in the most emphatic way, to every ¹individual in a self-¹governing country. "He that takes up the sword shall perish by the sword," will always be mournfully ¹exemplified in a republic.

(§ 22.) **SYNOPSIS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.**—The ¹Government of the United States is composed of three separate, distinct, and ¹independent parts: the Legislative, the ¹Executive, and the Judicial departments. The whole is ¹harmoniously blended, and so admirably ¹constituted as to secure the ¹utmost moderation and ¹wisdom. (§ 23.) It has a wise ¹system of checks and ¹balances ordained by the constitution, so that neither ¹department may ever trench on ¹rational liberty. Hence it ¹approximates ¹perfection, and has, when its just principles have been observed, secured the utmost ¹prosperity and happiness.

(§ 24.) **THE LAW-MAKING POWER.**—Congress is the ¹national legislature. It ¹exercises the sole power of making, altering, and ¹repealing the laws of the United States. It is ¹composed of a House of ¹Representatives, elected by the ¹voters of each ¹congressional district of all the various States, for the ¹term of two years, and a Senate, ¹elected by the legislatures of the ¹several States for

* See Thinker, Part III., page 126.

the term of six years. (§ 25.) Each congressional ¹district is entitled to one ¹representative, and each State to two ¹senators. The main ¹business in legislative bodies is done ¹through committees; to whom all proposed ¹laws and matters of business are referred for ¹examination and ¹report.*

(§ 26.) As a general rule, the main labor of a ¹committee ¹devolves on the ¹chairman. The reports of committees always ¹carry much weight, and in most cases receive the ¹sanction of the House. Hence, as the ¹chairmen of the various committees have such vast ¹influence in the action of all ¹deliberative bodies, it is of the utmost ¹importance that the wisest and best act as chairmen. (§ 27.) In the House of Representatives all of the ¹chief committees ¹consist of seven members, and are appointed by the Speaker. The one first named is, by the congressional ¹rule, chairman. The ¹various committees shape the course of legislation.

(§ 28.) Hence it follows that the ¹office of Speaker is one of the most ¹influential and important of the entire government. Besides, in a certain ¹contingency, he would become, by virtue of his office, President of the United States.† He has to preside over one of the largest, most sagacious, and ¹occasionally difficult to control of legislative ¹assemblies. He must sign all acts, addresses, writs, warrants, and subpoenas issued by the House, and all joint resolutions passed by the Senate and ¹House of Representatives. He states all ¹questions, and puts them for vote. He is also ¹entitled to debate and ¹vote the same as any other ¹member. (§ 29.) In the Senate the ¹Vice President is the ¹presiding officer; but he ¹exercises by far less power. The ¹appointment of the various ¹committees who shape the ¹character of legislation and frame resolutions to originate, alter, or ¹abolish laws is ¹made, not by the Vice President, but by the Senate.

(§ 30.) The ¹Senators elect by ¹ballot five for each committee. In case of the ¹disability or absence of the chairman or first ¹named on a committee, the second acts as ¹temporary chairman, and so on in rotation. (§ 31.) The ¹Clerk of the House of Representatives is ¹elected by ballot, but he cannot be a member of the House. He is ¹required to keep a complete ²journal of each day's ¹proceedings; procure the printing of all ¹necessary bills, reports, documents, and attend promptly to all the ¹various duties of a ¹recording officer.

(§ 32.) The ¹Sergeant-at-arms executes all the ¹commands or orders of the House. He performs the various ¹duties of ¹chief police-officer or sheriff. The door-keeper is ¹required to see that no one but members and those properly ¹entitled enter the legislative halls. (§ 33.) At the ¹beginning of each session of Congress ¹standing committees are appointed to act on the various

* For the best system of rules for organizing and governing legislative and all deliberative bodies and societies, see Burleigh's Legislative Guide, a standard work published by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Nos. 819 and 821 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

† See the note at the bottom of page 191.

¹important ¹departments of legislation to the end of the session. Any ¹subject out of the usual routine of legislation, or any ¹business that requires ¹especial attention, is usually referred to a ¹temporary or ¹select committee.

(§ 34.) The House may ¹refer to a committee any subject; and usually all ¹matters of importance are so ¹referred. It is customary to sustain the ¹report of a committee. But every ¹deliberative body has always the power to act in any way it may ¹deem just.

(§ 35.) The entire House may at any time ¹avoid the literal control of ¹parliamentary rules by resolving itself into a ¹committee of the whole,* and in this way secure ¹colloquial or free discussion. After ¹suitable deliberation this committee rises and ¹reports its ¹proceedings to the Speaker of the House, through its ¹chairman, the same as any other committee.

(§ 36.) The COMMITTEE OF ¹WAYS AND MEANS of the House of Representatives is intrusted with all bills for raising ¹revenue for the *entire expenditures* of the ¹National Government. The other important ¹standing committees are on ¹FOREIGN RELATIONS; on ¹MILITARY AFFAIRS; on NAVAL AFFAIRS; on ¹COMMERCE; on MANUFACTURES; on ¹INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS; on EDUCATION; on ¹AGRICULTURE; and on ¹TERRITORIES.

(§ 37.) ¹MANNER OF CONDUCTING BUSINESS.—The superintending power of ¹ALMIGHTY GOD, and our *entire dependence on Him*, is duly ¹acknowledged by Congress. Each House precedes its daily ¹routine of business by a short and ¹impressive prayer, led by the ¹chaplain, who is ¹appointed at the beginning of each ¹session for the season. Next in ¹order are petitions from each State and Territory; ¹reports from standing and ¹select committees; ¹resolutions, and the ¹unfinished business of the last day's ¹session, provided no definite subject has been set apart for that ¹particular day. The ¹congressional rule requires every bill, before it becomes a law, to be ¹read three times on three ¹different days. Each reading requires the ¹approval of a majority of the House.

(§ 38.) After the third reading, the final vote or ¹passage is taken by yeas and ¹nays. When a bill has ¹passed either House it is ¹carefully copied by the ¹clerk, or secretary, and then sent to the ¹other House. After a ¹bill has passed both Houses of Congress it is correctly ¹copied by the clerk or secretary of the House in which it ¹originated, on a roll of ¹parchment. The bill is then said to be ¹enrolled. It is then ¹critically examined by a committee appointed by each House, who ¹rectify mistakes, if any occur, and make a report that it is correctly enrolled. The bill is then signed by the Speaker of the House and the President of the ¹Senate. It is then sent to the ¹President of the United States.

(§ 39.) If it ¹receives his signature, it ¹becomes a law of the land. In case he ¹disapproves of the bill, he returns it to the House in which it originated, with his objections or ¹veto.

* An extended account of the duties and proceedings of a *committee of the whole* may be found in BURLEIGH'S LEGISLATIVE GUIDE.

(§ 40.) The disapproved bill does not then become a law ¹unless each House reconsiders and ¹passes it over his veto by at least ¹two-thirds of all the votes in ¹both Houses. Any ¹bill so passed becomes a law ¹notwithstanding the President's veto.

(§ 41.) The ¹constitution requires Congress to make provision by law once in every ten years for taking the ¹census of the United States. The next ¹Congress, after the census ¹returns have been made, is required to pass a law ¹stating what number of inhabitants shall be entitled to send a ¹representative to Congress, and how the representatives shall be ¹apportioned among the several States. (§ 42.) The ¹ratio of representation in Congress is increased every ten years, in ¹order to prevent the increase of the ¹members of the House of Representatives, which tends to retard legislation and add to the ¹public expense. But the constitution provides that "each ¹State shall have at least one ¹representative."

(§ 43.) Each State is divided into as many ¹*Congressional Districts* as it is ¹entitled to representatives in Congress, by its own legislature, and the representatives are generally ¹chosen at the usual State elections. Every organized territory is entitled to a delegate, who can ¹participate in discussion, but is not entitled to vote.

LESSON II.

(§ 1.) The constitution ¹requires the President to see * that the laws are ¹faithfully executed, and holds him ¹responsible to the people for the proper management of the ¹National Government. The President is a ¹superintendent; the actual labor is performed by ¹various *secretaries*, called *Heads of the different assistant branches of the Executive Department*. The ¹secretaries of the various departments are the private ¹advisers of the President, and are called his ¹cabinet.† (§ 2.) There are usually weekly meetings held at the executive ¹mansion by the cabinet. The president or any secretary may then bring ¹forward for mutual ¹discussion and ¹approval every important measure he has ¹devised for the benefit of any ¹department, or any subject in regard to foreign relations, or ¹pertaining in any way to the welfare of the ¹United States. All cabinet ¹officers and foreign ministers are nominated by the ¹President; but to guard against incompetence or ¹unworthiness, the constitution requires them to be ¹confirmed by the Senate.

(§ 3.) The ¹SECRETARY OF STATE, or Prime Minister, holds the most ¹important office under the President. He has charge of the seal ‡ of the ¹National Government, and ¹impresses it on all com-

* For the powers and duties of the President see pages 193 to 199 inclusive.

† General George Washington was inaugurated the first President of the United States, April 30, 1789. His cabinet consisted of only four: the Secretaries of State, War, Treasury, and the Attorney General.

‡ The seal is the size of a silver dollar. It consists of the engraving of an "Eagle," and the words "Department of State" are in circular form over its head.

missions approved by the ¹President. He has the management of all affairs ¹connected with foreign nations, and is required to ¹file in the ¹archives the original of all correspondence with foreign ¹powers; all treaties, public documents, and laws. He grants ¹passports to citizens who wish to travel in foreign countries, and is required to keep perfect ¹copies of all the laws of every State. The ¹details of this department are managed by a chief clerk, who ¹employs a large number of assistants.

(§ 4.) THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY has the ¹management of all the money that is ¹received and paid out by the Government. The ¹revenue of a nation, and the stability of public ¹confidence in the bonds of a ¹government, depend mostly on his ¹sagacity and wisdom. The details of this ¹department are managed by the following ¹assistants or heads of sub-departments, each of whom ¹employs a long list of sub-¹assistants, or clerks: The ¹REGISTER, who keeps an accurate account of all the money received and expended for the Government. ¹The TREASURER, who receives and deposits all the public ¹money. He also pays all ¹warrants drawn by the Secretary of the ¹Treasury, which the law requires to be ¹countersigned by the ¹Controller.

(§ 5.) It is the duty of the *First* and ¹*Second Controllers* to examine ¹carefully and certify to the correctness of the ¹accounts and balances kept by the various ¹auditors. The *First Auditor* examines the ¹accounts of the revenue and civil list. He ¹certifies to their condition and correctness, and then ¹transmits those accounts with their ¹vouchers to the Controller who has charge of his department. The *Second Auditor* ¹settles all bills for the pay, subsistence, clothing, hospitals, armories, arsenals, ¹recruiting services; the stated government ¹donations or annuities to the various Indian tribes; and all the minor incidental ¹expenses of the army. The *Third Auditor* ¹settles the bills for fortifications, military roads, the military academy, and the ¹expenses of the quartermaster's department.

(§ 6.) The *Fourth Auditor* examines all the ¹accounts of the ¹expenditures of the navy and the Naval School, certifies to their correctness, and ¹transmits them to the Controller in charge. The *Fifth Auditor* supervises and settles the accounts of the Department of State. The *Secretary of the Treasury* ¹makes an annual report of the national revenue and expenditures; the ¹value of all the imports and exports; the ¹estimated revenue and expenditure for the coming year; and all other ¹matters that may require the ¹attention of Congress.

(§ 7.) The *SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR* is the ¹superintendent of the Patent Office; of all public ¹lands; public buildings; all the mines ¹owned by the United States; the pension list, the Indian, the Agricultural, and the ¹Educational Bureaus.

The *SECRETARY OF WAR* is the ¹superintendent of all the military force on land in the United States. He has the ¹supervision of the Military Academy at West Point, and ¹makes an annual report, giving a synopsis of all matters of public interest ¹pertaining to

the military affairs of the nation, and a ¹statement of the money ¹drawn from the treasury for his ¹department, and the way in which it was ¹expended.

The SECRETARY OF THE NAVY has the ¹superintendence of the entire naval force of the United ¹States, and the ¹control of the Naval Academy. He makes an ¹annual report of the condition and wants of the ¹navy.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL is ¹superintendent of the department of ¹justice. He is the legal counsellor of the President and the ¹various Heads of Departments, and attends to all ¹suits in which the National ¹Government is interested in the Supreme Court of the ¹United States.

(§ 8.) The POSTMASTER-GENERAL is the ¹superintendent of all the post-¹offices in the United States. He has power to recommend the removal and ¹appointment of postmasters, establish post-offices, and make contracts for ¹carrying the mails. This is one of the ¹most arduous, responsible, and ¹influential departments of the government. The labor is divided among ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERALS. The first ¹assistant has charge of all ¹appointments to office; the second ¹superintends all contracts; the third manages all the finances, and has ¹supervision of the *postal money-order system*. By a recent act of ¹Congress any person may obtain from a post-office a ¹money order* for any sum under fifty dollars. This order is then ¹enclosed in a letter: the person receiving it presents the same to the ¹postmaster named in his own vicinity, who is required to pay the money order. There are also several ¹assistants, or chief clerks, ¹each of whom has a separate and distinct department, the management of which is almost ¹entirely under his own control. There is an ¹Auditor, who superintends the collection of ¹debts and settlement of all the accounts of the ¹department.

(§ 9.) All *postmasters* ¹under the General Government are ¹required to keep an exact account of all letters sent from and ¹received at their own post-office, and an accurate ¹list of the names of persons and the post-offices from which ¹registered letters or money orders for ¹distribution from their own ¹office were received; also a list of the post-offices to which money orders have been sent. Each subordinate *postmaster* is ¹required to send quarterly to the ¹general post-office at Washington a ¹statement of the number of letters sent from and ¹received at his own office, the ¹amount of money received for postage, and the ¹amount paid out for the post-¹office. A postmaster, at stated periods, varying from a week to a ¹month, owing to the density of the ¹population, is required to advertise all uncalled for letters.

(§ 10.) After the period for which the letters were to be ¹advertised has expired, then all that are still ¹remaining on hand must, if not ¹otherwise ordered, be sent as *dead letters* to the post-office department at ¹Washington. An ¹assistant postmaster-general has ¹charge of the *dead-letter office*. The letters are ¹opened, and

* In this way money may be sent by mail without danger of loss.

all money or valuable ¹contents returned by mail free to their ¹writers, as soon as the ¹cumbersome duties of the office ¹permit. The ¹*Postmaster General* ¹makes an annual report of all ¹contracts made for transporting the ¹mails; the new mail routes opened; a detailed ¹statement of the receipts and ¹expenditures of the post-office department; the estimated ¹expenditures for the ensuing year, and all ¹matters relating to the department of ¹public utility and interest, or anything ¹requiring the additional legislation of ¹Congress.

(§ 11.) The MINT is a separate ¹bureau of the Government. Its chief officer or superintendent is ¹styled Director. There is also a chief coiner, who ¹manages the coining department; an assayer, who tests the purity of the ¹various metals; an engraver, who makes the dies to stamp the ¹coin; a melter and refiner, who prepares suitable ¹bars for the various sizes and kinds of coin for the rolling-mill; a treasurer, who ¹receives and gives receipts for all ore and metal brought to the mint. The ¹cabinet of ancient and modern coins at the United States Mint in Philadelphia is ¹valued at upwards of three millions of dollars. The public can visit the ¹collection, free of ¹charge, between 9 A. M. and 12 M. There is a branch mint of the United States in ¹operation at San Francisco, Cal., and at Carson City, Nevada, and an ¹assay office in the City of New York.

LESSON III.

(§ 1.) The Supreme ¹Court * of the United States is the highest and the final judicial tribunal of the ¹nation. It was ordained by the ¹constitution as the third separate, independent, and permanent department of the National ¹Government. The Supreme Court is composed of a chief judge and eight ¹associates, and commences ¹annually on the first Monday of December, and usually sits about ten weeks at the ¹City of Washington. This court has ¹original jurisdiction† in but few cases. The main ¹business consists in its ¹*appellate jurisdiction*, or the rejudging cases that have been ¹brought up from the Circuit and the various State courts.

(§ 2.) This power of ¹examining again and of *reversing* or *affirming* the decisions of other ¹tribunals tends to render all the legislatures and courts of the ¹several states vigilant and careful, and adds to the ¹dignity and usefulness of the Supreme Court. Its ¹organization was wisely left to Congress, the ¹immediate representatives of the ¹people, so that its power might be extended over any new ¹territory that might be acquired, and always meet the wants of the ¹growth of the country.

(§ 3.) The ¹constitution expressly says ‡ the “judicial power shall extend to ¹controversies between two or more States,” which is direct positive ¹proof that the Supreme Court was designed by the

* See page 136, and the 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st lines.

† See pages 199, 200, 201, and 202.

‡ See 20th line, page 136.

immortal ¹founders of the American Government to be the SOVEREIGN ARBITER between the ¹several States, and that *no State* has the least ¹shadow or semblance of power to interfere in any way ¹whatever so as to impede or annul the laws of the nation. (§ 4.) The ¹decision of the Supreme National Court is the last tribunal of appeal from a circuit court of the ¹United States, or from the highest court of ¹any State. The Supreme Court secures a correct and uniform interpretation of the ¹constitution, and the laws enacted by ¹Congress. The judgment or decision of the supreme or the highest court of a State, when supposed to be ¹repugnant to the constitution or laws of the ¹nation, may be removed to the ¹Supreme Court of the United States; and the decision there made ¹becomes the established law of the entire Union.

(§ 5.) The ¹Supreme Court is neither superior nor inferior to ¹Congress; both are equal, co-ordinate branches of the Government, and both are inferior to the ¹constitution, which is *the* ¹supreme ¹law of the land. The decisions of the ¹Supreme Court secure uniformity in the interpretation of the ¹constitution and the laws. (§ 6.) The appeal from the ¹decisions of a State court prevents ¹conflicting laws on the same point in different States. The ¹highest court of one State might declare a law ¹constitutional and valid. A ¹similar court in another State might ¹declare the same law *unconstitutional* and ¹invalid.

(§ 7.) Wise ¹decisions and safety are better secured by the ¹national court than could ever be effected by ¹nearly forty independent State ¹courts of final jurisdiction, over ¹similar points of law, which could ¹scarcely result in anything but ¹interminable confusion and ¹contradiction. An appeal from an inferior court removes a cause entirely. A new ¹trial is given: all the *facts* and all the *points of the law* are ¹reviewed. But a writ of error removes for a new examination only the ¹points of the law. The United States ¹Government can bring ¹suits at law in their own courts. But no individual or State can institute a suit against the National Government — for it is not ¹amenable to any person or any State.

(§ 8.) To remedy oppression the people have the ¹power to remove, in a ¹constitutional way, any ¹public officer, and hold him responsible, as an ¹individual, to the proper judicial tribunals. In accordance with the Constitution,* Congress has ¹established three courts — the Circuit Court of the United States, the ¹District Court, and the Court of Claims, which ¹hears and determines all claims founded on any ¹law of Congress, or on any regulation of an executive ¹department, or on any contract, expressed or implied, with the Government of the United States. Cases are ¹brought before this Court by ¹petition from a claimant. Claims may also be ¹referred to this Court by either house of Congress. Several States are set off into ¹Circuit Districts. The number of circuits is ¹equal to the ¹number of judges of the ¹Supreme Court. There were in 1870 nine ¹circuit districts.

* See Article III., page 135.

(§ 9.) Each judge of the Supreme Court has his ¹allotted circuit, in which he holds court ¹twice a year. He is usually assisted by the district ¹judge in which the circuit is ¹held. The Circuit Court of the United States has ¹jurisdiction in all civil suits, under the national law, where the ¹amount exceeds five hundred dollars, and of piracy, and all capital crimes ¹committed on vessels beyond the ¹jurisdiction of a State. Cases may be carried from the Circuit to the Supreme Court by ¹appeal; by a ¹difference of opinion between the circuit and district judge; and by ¹writ of error.

(§ 10.) In each ¹United States District Court, which is ¹usually composed of a single State,* is a district ¹judge, who holds court quarterly, or four ¹sessions a year. There is also a ¹district attorney, who ¹conducts suits for the National ¹Government, and a ¹marshal, who executes the commands of the court, similar to that of the ¹sheriff of a county or the constable of a town.

(§ 11.) The District Court has jurisdiction of the ¹minor civil suits, in which the United ¹States are plaintiffs; of all ¹seizures under the revenue laws, ¹counterfeiting the coin, paper currency, postage stamps, and all printed, ¹stamped, or ¹written documents of the United States; of the infringement of the post-office laws; ¹copyrights; patent rights; of ¹smuggling goods, or importing secretly any article of ¹merchandise on which a tax is levied, to avoid paying the ¹duty or tax, and all minor crimes against the laws of the ¹United States.

(§ 12.) In a *Court of ¹Equity*, or, as it is called in ¹England, the *Court of ¹Chancery*, there is no trial by jury. The ¹judges preside. The plaintiff, or one who makes the ¹complaint, states his case in writing, which is called a ¹*bill of equity*. The ¹defendant gives a statement in ¹writing in his own defence. In a Court of Equity, the written statement of the ¹parties is taken in *their own case* as ¹evidence. (§ 13.) It is the business of the ¹judicial department of a ¹government to decide *WHAT THE LAW IS, but not to make the law*. ¹Judges are not lawmakers. The ¹Constitution of the United States, and the enactments of ¹Congress made in accordance with its provisions, are the ¹supreme law. The Supreme Court takes cognizance of suits or cases in ¹law and equity.† Any congressional or State ¹legislative enactment, conflicting with the ¹Constitution of the United States, may, when a suit at law is ¹brought before the judges of the ¹Supreme Court, be declared ¹*null and void*.

(§ 14.) But the ¹judges are only the instrument of the Supreme Law in making the decision. In like ¹manner the judges of a State, ¹county, and the justices of the peace, or magistrates of a town, and the ¹aldermen of a city, are bound to give their ¹decrees in accordance with the laws ¹applicable to their various localities.

(§ 15.) A NEW ¹COPYRIGHT LAW was enacted by Congress in 1870. Each ¹copyright now secures the exclusive privilege of publishing the *book* or *article* copyrighted for the ¹term of twenty-eight years.

* New York, Pennsylvania, and some of the large States are composed of two districts.

† See Constitution U. S., Section 2, 136th page.

After that period the *author* or the *designer* may secure a renewal for the further *term* of fourteen years, making forty-two years in all. A copyright must be secured before publishing the *book* or other *article*. A fee of one dollar must be *enclosed* with the *title of each book or any other article* to be copyrighted, to the Librarian* of *Congress*, which secures a *certificate of copyright* under his seal. Within *ten days* *after* the publication of *each book or any other article*, two *complete* copies of the best edition *issued* must be *mailed* or sent to the Librarian of *Congress*, to perfect the *copyright*; and if these *copies* are *not sent* the *copyright is void*, and a **PENALTY** of **TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS** *INCURRED*. The books and the title-pages will be *transmitted* free. Postmasters are *required* to give *receipts* for the same when requested. No *copyright* is valid *unless* on the title-page, or the page *following*, of each book of every edition, notice is given in the *following* words: "Entered *according to an Act of Congress, in the year* —, by —, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington."

(§ 16.) AN *INVENTOR* *MAY OBTAIN A PATENT* by giving a written description of his invention to the *COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS*, who is an *assistant* of the *Secretary of the Interior*. The *inventor* must distinctly *delineate* every part of the improvement that he *claims* as his own *discovery*, and take an *oath* that to the best of his belief he is the *original discoverer*. He must also pay a *fee* of thirty dollars. Then if the *commissioner* finds that the invention has not before been discovered, he issues a patent for the term of fourteen years, *giving* the *inventor* the *exclusive* *patent right* to the *invention*; subject to a renewal for seven years, in case he *should* not during the first term be *suitably remunerated*.

LESSON IV.†

(§ 1.) The State *governments* are all republican in form and *similar* to each other. Each State has its own *constitution*, emanating from the *people*, which is the supreme *municipal law*, extending over its own *subdivisions* of counties and towns as the National Constitution **EXTENDS OVER** its own *subdivisions* of States, and takes away from each *State government* every power of a *national character*. Hence the Government of the *United States* acts solely in a *national capacity*, and *exercises* all powers of an *external national character*. It punishes all *crimes* committed on the high seas, and every offence *against* its own laws.

(§ 2.) The *National Government* is *supreme*. Every State government is *subordinate* to it. The school district, the town, the *county*, and the State, each, has its own *appropriate* *subordinate local sphere of action*. The power of a State is *municipal*,

*The old law made this the duty of a clerk of a District Court of the U. S.

† For time of holding elections and meeting of State Legislatures, see page 44, Appendix.

¹confined to its own ¹local interests. As it is ¹sovereign over its own ¹minor local departments of town, city, and county, so it in turn becomes ¹subordinate, whenever any law or interest may ¹conflict with the ¹supreme Constitution, or the authority of the people of the whole ¹country. The *prosperity* and happiness of all is best promoted, when the ¹appropriate sphere and duty of each department is so enlightened as to move in ¹harmonious regularity in its own local municipal capacity. It ¹especially becomes the duty of the ¹National Government to use the utmost ¹wisdom and impartiality in the ¹enactment of its laws, so that no one of its ¹minor State departments may in any way be ¹oppressed.

(§ 3.) Each State has its ¹legislative, its ¹executive, and its ¹judicial ¹department, and, so far as ¹circumstances admit, they are ¹modelled after the National Government. Every State has its ¹upper and its lower House, or its ¹Senate and its House of ¹Representatives. Each House has its ¹presiding officer or speaker, also its ¹sergeant-at-arms, and door-keeper. Every State Legislature has a ¹similar uniform system of rules and ¹mode of enacting laws. State legislation is confined to local ¹municipal laws relating to private or individual ¹property, and private or individual rights. The State laws are enforced through its own ¹judicial courts.

(§ 4.) The great system of public ¹education is committed to the various State legislatures. Also, all laws pertaining to ¹property, to debtor and creditor, to inheritance, to ¹bequests, to chartering cities, bridge ¹companies, literary and charitable institutions, cemeteries, State canals, the extent of punishment for ¹crime, and the mode of conviction, the organization of the State ¹militia; also the independent action of the States on any ¹proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States. A State ¹government has the entire power to ¹legislate, in a constitutional way, over its own ¹municipal ¹affairs. The people are the primary ¹source of power; hence the various State constitutions give their ¹representatives in the legislature the ¹sole power to enact, alter, or repeal law. The governor is the ¹chief executive officer. In most of the new States he has not the ¹veto power, but in a few of the older ones he ¹exercises the right to veto a bill, similar to the ¹President of the United States. Every ¹governor's sphere of action is confined ¹exclusively to his own State, but in other respects his ¹duties resemble those of the ¹President of the United States. He is ¹required to see that the State laws are ¹faithfully executed. He is ¹ex-officio commander of the State militia, and may ¹require the opinions of the ¹subordinate officers of the State government. He ¹communicates to the legislature of his State a correct account of its ¹municipal affairs, and ¹appoints many of the minor officers. In most of the ¹States the governor has power to ¹pardon even the most desperate criminals convicted by State laws.

(§ 5.) Owing, ¹however, to the liability of bribery and the base use of this power for ¹partisan purposes, some of the lately ¹formed State constitutions wisely require the ¹concurrence of the State Senate or higher branch of the ¹legislature. In like manner every

other State officer of ¹similar character has similar duties to perform, only of a local State nature, to the ¹corresponding officer of the National Government. The ¹superintendent of the public schools has charge of the ¹educational interests of a State. His duty consists, as the name implies, in ¹superintending and directing in the most efficient way possible the ¹educational interests of the State.

(§ 6.) The State courts take ¹cognizance of all the internal affairs of the State, ¹including all manner of debts, contracts, and ¹crimes. The ¹Supreme Court, in most of the States, is the highest State judicial ¹tribunal, and, so far as State authority goes, makes the final ¹decision. But in a few States there is a higher court of appeals, which *affirms* or *reverses* the ¹decisions of the Supreme Court of a State. There is in every State a court of ¹impeachment, in which the ¹governor and all judicial officers may be tried when they violate their oath of office. Should a ¹State officer for money or any other cause do a wrong act, he may be ¹impeached by the lower House of the State ¹legislature, and tried by the higher House, in a ¹similar way that the House of Representatives of the United States impeach, and the Senate try the highest national executive and judicial ¹officers.*

(§ 7.) Every county ¹has its seat of ¹justice, where county courts are held at stated ¹periods, usually once in three months. The county courts have ¹jurisdiction over all ¹prominent suits at law arising in the county. In some States there are ¹criminal courts for the ¹express purpose of trying criminals. A ¹municipal, or mayor's court, takes cognizance of causes within an ¹incorporated district or ¹city. There is a judge of probate in every county. He holds a probate court† at stated ¹periods, usually as often as once a month. Wills, or written directions for the ¹disposal of one's property after death, must be ¹proved before this court. The probate court also superintends the proper ¹settlement of the estates of all persons who belong to and die in the ¹county.

(§ 8.) A JUSTICE'S COURT IS THE ¹PRIMARY OR LOWEST COURT in a State. The ¹jurisdiction of a justice ¹extends over the entire county, though he may ¹actually be elected by the people of a town or township. The ¹reason of this extended power of a ¹justice is to serve the public good. A ¹difficulty might arise between the nearest ¹neighbors, and yet they might be ¹separated by town lines. It is then to facilitate the ¹collection of small debts and the suppression of petty ¹crimes, that a justice's and a ¹constable's jurisdiction is extended. The ¹person who brings a suit is in law ¹called the ¹plaintiff, and the one complained of is styled the defendant.

(§ 9.) Any person ¹suffering from any real or supposed ¹grievance, may apply to a justice for redress. At the ¹request of the plaintiff the justice ¹issues a writing called a *writ* or *summons*, directed usually, though not necessarily, to the nearest ¹constable,

* See sec. 4, page 135.

† In New York, this is called the Surrogate's Court. In Pennsylvania, the officer corresponding to surrogate is called the Register of Wills.

commanding him to ¹summon the defendant to appear before the ¹justice, at a certain place, day, and hour, ¹specified in the writ, to answer to the charges preferred by the ¹plaintiff.

A **JUSTICE OF THE PEACE** is generally elected by ¹ballot, but in a few of the older States the ¹governor has the power of ¹designating and appointing as many ¹justices as he may deem necessary. The term for ¹holding office varies, like ¹representation, being in some States only one year, while in others the official term ¹extends to four years.

(§ 10.) A justice of the ¹peace holds courts for the trial of all ¹minor civil and ¹criminal actions. He is the legal ¹functionary or chief judge of the town, and required by his ¹official oath to preserve order at all civil, ¹religious, or political ¹meetings. A justice is required to cause any person ¹charged with a crime or violation of the public peace, to be ¹brought before his court for examination; and, at his ¹discretion, either to fine him according to law, acquit, bind over for trial, or commit him to close ¹confinement in the county jail for trial, either before the county or a higher criminal court. All deeds of the ¹transfer of land, buildings, and all kinds of valuable property should be ¹acknowledged before a justice of the peace of the town, or an ¹alderman of the city, in which the ¹property conveyed is located, and witnessed by at least two ¹disinterested persons. The law of a few ¹States ¹requires an acknowledgment before two ¹justices, or aldermen, and three ¹disinterested witnesses. A *judicial oath* or *¹affirmation* may be administered by a justice of a town, a ¹burgess of a ¹borough, a mayor of a city, a judge or ¹clerk of any court, and the presiding officer or ¹secretary of any legislative body.

(§ 11.) The assembling of three or more persons to ¹disturb the public peace or do any ¹unlawful act, is a riot. It is then the ¹duty of a justice of the peace, burgess, mayor, judge, sheriff, police-officer, or constable, in the name of the State, to ¹order them to disperse. In case the ¹rioters refuse, the officer may call on any ¹bystanders or other persons to aid in arresting them. Any person thus ¹called on for assistance, refusing, is ¹liable to be fined. It is also the duty of a ¹justice of the peace to suppress profanity, or the ¹taking the name of God in vain, betting, ¹Sabbath-breaking, and all ¹trespassing and ¹disorderly conduct contrary to the laws of the State.

(§ 12.) It is the duty of a ¹legislature to make laws to secure ¹justice to all citizens in their varied transactions and lawful ¹pursuits. The ¹judicial officers exercise the sole ¹prerogative, however, of determining what the law is, and ¹whether it has been broken. They assess the ¹damage or determine the punishment to be ¹inflicted, and order their own decisions to be ¹carried into effect through their ministerial officer, a ¹constable, sheriff, or marshal.

(§ 13.) A constable is the ¹ministerial officer of a magistrate or ¹justice of the peace. His business is mostly ¹confined to his own town. He serves all summonses, executes all ¹writs and judgments of the justice's or ¹magistrate's court. His duties are ¹similar to

the sheriff of a county, or a ¹marshal in the United States court. By order of a ¹magistrate he commits all alleged criminals to jail to ¹await the order of either the county or a ¹higher criminal court.* A *constable* generally acts as ¹directed in writing by a justice. A ¹police officer who executes the commands of an alderman, a burgess, or a mayor, wears a badge of ¹office, by which he is designated, and has power *without any written ¹authority* to arrest and ¹commit to a station-house or a prison, for examination or for trial, any alleged ¹criminal or ¹disturber of the ¹public peace.

(§ 15.) The sheriff is the ¹executive officer of the judges of a county or of a State ¹court. He serves all legal notices, ¹executes all writs, judgments, and decrees of a court. He has ¹charge of the county jail, and ¹imprisons and takes care of all alleged criminals before their ¹trial takes place. If convicted, he ¹carries out the decrees of the court, by either ¹confining the convicts, if for a small offence, to the ¹county jail, or for a greater crime to the State ¹penitentiary; and for ¹murder or a ¹capital offence, he takes charge of the execution, as the law ¹requires, at the gallows. He is generally assisted by two or more ¹deputies. A writ is ¹served by a constable or ¹sheriff by reading it to the ¹defendant, and, when he desires, giving him a correct copy. In case the ¹party ¹cannot be found, a copy is usually left at his last place of ¹residence. On or before the day of trial the writ or ¹summons must be returned to the ¹justice or the judge, with an ¹indorsement stating the ¹particulars, and the day on which it was served.

LESSON V.

(§ 1.) In most of the older States ¹counties are divided into districts of ¹irregular shape and size, called *towns*.† The ¹law of the United States ¹divides all the territory owned by the National ¹Government into districts six miles square, ¹called *townships*; hence town and *township* are used as nearly ¹synonymous words, and mean the small ¹incorporated division of a county or election district, which in all new States is called ¹*township*. All political power justly ¹emanates from the people. In most of the States, in ¹order to give the citizens the fullest power of ¹self-government, each town, ¹township, or ¹election ¹district is divided into still ¹smaller ¹divisions of territory, including only a few ¹families, called *school districts*. The voters of each school district ¹usually assemble ¹en masse at least once a year, and elect one or more ¹from their number ‡ to engage a ¹teacher, and attend to all business requisite to keep the *district school* in ¹successful operation.

(§ 2.) The voters of a *town* or *township* ¹assemble in most of the

*A separate court for trying criminals is in some States called a court of *Oyer and Terminer*.

†In a few, townships; in some, election districts; in Delaware, hundreds; and in Louisiana, parishes.

‡Called by different names in different States, generally either committee, trustee, inspector or director.

States in the early part of each year, and elect their own ¹officers for conducting the ¹public affairs of the town. They have power to order money to be ¹raised for public ¹improvement, the repair of roads, bridges, and all other ¹objects that may be needed. They also at stated ¹periods, either ¹annually or once in two years, as the State laws ¹direct, elect their representatives to serve in the State ¹legislature. The State elections are generally held in October or ¹November. The name of the ¹executive officer of a town or township varies. In ¹some States he is called *supervisor*; in others, the first ¹select-man; in others, the ¹chairman of the board of trustees.* The duty also ¹varies, but consists in ¹supervising and carrying out the laws of a town. He may be consulted about the roads, bridges, taxes, debts, the support of the poor, and all matters to which the ¹variable town ¹statutes apply. The executive officer of a town ¹exercises similar but less authority than the mayor of a city. The mayor of a city ¹exercises similar but less than the governor of a State. The governor of a State ¹exercises similar but less authority than the ¹President of the United States.

(§ 3.) The town clerk has charge of the ¹records, books, and all the written ¹documents of a town. He is required to keep a ¹correct record of the ¹proceedings of each town meeting; the names of all persons elected to office; and ¹return to the county clerk the names of all ¹constables and justices of the peace. In some ¹States the town as well as the county clerk is ¹required to keep a record of all ¹deeds and other ¹conveyances of property. The names and duties of the other town officials ¹vary in the different States. There are generally elected ¹assessors, overseers of the poor, overseers of the highways, a treasurer, ¹collector of taxes, fence viewers, pound keepers, and various school officers.

(§ 4.) The larger the body politic the greater the ¹taxation, and the corresponding ¹advantages of increased wealth, additional safety, and ¹security of life and ¹property. The people of a school district are ¹sovereign in their own local and municipal ¹capacity. They are not, however, ¹independent of, but only form part of the town, and have to ¹submit to taxation, not only for the support of their own district, but also for town ¹purposes. The people of a town are ¹sovereign, but submit to additional ¹taxation for the support and the advantages of a county ¹government. The people of a ¹county are sovereign, but submit to additional ¹taxation for the ¹support and the advantages of a State ¹government.

(§ 5.) The people of a State are ¹sovereign, but ¹submit to additional ¹taxation for the support and for the advantages of a supreme ¹National Government, which is ¹entirely under the ¹authority of the constitutional majority of all the people of the whole Union. A citizen is sovereign on his own premises; when he ¹attends the school or local district meeting he loses ¹perfect sovereignty, and

* There are usually three or more selectmen or trustees chosen for each town or township. The first selectman, or the chairman of the trustees, is the presiding officer.

is a partner with every other voter, or elector. A ¹majority are then sovereign in their own district. A ¹majority of all the electors of all the ¹districts are sovereign in their own town. A ¹majority of all the electors of all the towns are ¹sovereign in their own county. A ¹majority of all the electors of all the counties are sovereign in their own State; and a ¹majority of all the electors of all the States ¹attain the highest sovereign ¹power in the supreme National ¹Government.

(§ 6.) This then is a ¹government not of one section more than ¹another, not of one State more than ¹another, but it is an equal government ¹composed of each and every ¹individual. The vote of the most ignorant, or the poorest, or the most depraved ¹elector in elevating or destroying the ¹Government, has equal and exactly the ¹same power as the vote of the best informed, or the richest, or the ¹purest. Human ¹progress indicates compact continental ¹self-governments. The loss of the least ¹particle of territory is like the ¹loss of substantial material from a perfect ¹temple.

(§ 7.) THE ¹GOVERNMENT OF A LARGE CITY resembles that of a State. The voters cannot all ¹assemble in one place to elect officers and transact public business. The various wards ¹correspond to the towns or ¹election districts where the electors meet and cast their ballots. The ¹mayor is the chief executive officer, similar to the governor. Aldermen act as ¹magistrates, hold courts, take acknowledgment of deeds, and ¹perform similar duties in the wards that the justices of the peace do in the ¹towns. The select and common council of a city ¹correspond to the Senate and House of Representatives of a State. The ¹assessors and collectors have similar duties to those of the same name in ¹country towns. The people of a city are ¹sovereign in their own ¹municipal capacity. They elect their own ¹legislators, the select and common ¹council, who enact ¹ordinances or city laws, that after being signed by the mayor are supreme, ¹provided they do not conflict with the State or United States constitution and laws.

(§ 8.) The city ¹authorities lay and ¹collect taxes for the city government, but the State law is ¹universal. Every citizen of every ward as well as of a town is assessed and ¹taxed to defray the expenses of a State ¹government, the same as every ¹citizen of a State is taxed, either ¹directly or indirectly,* to defray the ¹expenses of the United States Government. A city has ¹courts † of civil and criminal ¹jurisdiction. Suits at law where great interests are at stake may generally be ¹carried from a city to the ¹county court, from the county to the ¹higher State court, and finally from a State court to the Supreme Court of the ¹United States.

(§ 9.) A CLERK of a court is ¹required to keep an exact record of all its proceedings. When a case has been once ¹decided it is con-

* Most of the revenue of the United States is collected by duties on imported merchandise, and by variable taxes on manufactured goods, collected by officers of the internal revenue.

† In many States the mayor of a city or the burgess of a borough presides over the highest criminal court.

clusive, unless it is taken to a higher court; but a ¹decision in the Supreme Court of the United States is ¹final, and all the parties to it and their heirs must ¹forever abide by it. An ¹ATTORNEY AT LAW is a person learned in law, and ¹licensed by a court to practice or aid any one in conducting a suit within its ¹jurisdiction. A REPORTER is licensed by the ¹Supreme Court of a State or of the United States, to report its ¹judicial opinions and decisions, which, after they have been ¹carefully examined by the ¹judges, are ¹published in volumes, and become precedents of ¹authority for aiding, in ¹similar cases, the decision of courts for all future time.

(§ 10.) This unique ¹compendium of political science is presented to the guardians of public ¹education as a suitable vade mecum for every family in the Union. It is the favorite school-book for the home circle. The older members, *parents* and *even grandparents*, study the great chart of civil liberty, eon over its principles, draw comparisons, and deduce that the unexampled growth and prosperity of the whole country pre-eminently above any other that ever existed, was precisely in proportion to the faithful observance of the just and wise provisions of the Constitution. As in the living body, an injury to even one of its minutest parts affects the general health, so in our great model Republic, a calamity or an aggression on the rights of the people of even a small section injuriously affects the entire Commonwealth. An abiding desire to understand and appreciate the supreme law of the land forms the only safe guarantee of the continuance of its pure principles and of its perpetuity.

In the United States the constitutional majority of the people is the ultimate source of all power. They may alter or even abolish entirely every vestige of free government. This was in reality the case with the people of unhappy France in 1793. A republic in name, when perverted, may become in reality an engine to crush every principle of rational liberty with the most wanton cruelty. No political party is permanent. An insignificant minority may in the course of years gain the ascendancy. Self-government cannot long endure unless a reverence for its sacred principles is incessantly and thoroughly inculcated. It is a self-evident truth that an ignorant people are incapable of self-government.

(§ 11.) The ¹superintending power of God was acknowledged in all their proceedings by the ¹founders of the American Government. In the Declaration of ¹Independence they appealed to "*the Supreme ¹Judge of the world,*" with "*a firm reliance on ¹Divine Providence.*" In the ¹Continental Congress, and all national ¹legislative bodies since the country gained its ¹independence, the business of the day is preceded by ¹imploring the "*aid of Divine Power.*" The Journal of ¹Congress, Sept. 11th, 1777, shows that a committee was ¹appointed to have thirty thousand copies of the ¹Bible published at the expense of the colonial government. It was ¹found that the requisite type and paper could not at that

time be ¹obtained. Afterwards Congress ¹superintended by a committee the ¹printing of the first ¹edition of the Bible ever published in America, and ¹recommended it to the people.

(§ 12.) In this way they showed their ¹profound ¹veneration and high ¹appreciation of the Sacred Scriptures. It is made ¹obligatory by the Constitution of the ¹United States on all who are employed in the ¹administration of national affairs, to take a ¹solemn oath or affirmation to support the ¹Government. This is the most ¹binding, sacred appeal that can ever be made by ¹mortal man to the ¹OMNISCIENT AND ¹OMNIPRESENT RULER OF THE ¹UNIVERSE. (§ 13.) All State ¹Legislatures, and all the various literary ¹institutions of a higher order ¹throughout the entire Union follow the noble example of ¹Congress. Let it be ¹constantly borne in mind that the ¹degeneracy of the lawmakers of a republic is a ¹positive proof of the ¹degeneracy of the ¹voters who elect them. Washington attained his pre-eminent position to ennable human nature and bless the world by the most sedulous home education.* The praises of the illustrious founders of our ¹Sovereign Confederacy should fall gently, like the insensible dews of heaven, on the millions of the ¹eager imbibing minds of children, from the lips of the mothers, ¹around the millions of ¹endeared hearth-stones throughout our entire country.

(§ 14.) There is a ¹remarkable resemblance between our ¹Government and the ancient Jewish ¹Commonwealth,† which was a ¹Theocracy. The ¹religious faith and the political rule were kept ¹entirely separate. The judges or ¹executive officers of Judea were chosen by the people from ¹amongst themselves. The ¹priests did not interfere officially in political affairs. The ¹politicians never meddled with ¹religion, but ¹Jehovah was the ¹acknowledged ¹Supreme Head of the nation. The decline of the ¹Hebrew State began with the disaffection and rebellious desire of the ¹people for a king, whom the Almighty finally granted, to prove that nations as well as ¹individuals are punished for their sins.

(§ 15.) In like ¹manner the United States are a ¹Theocracy,‡ a ¹federated republic of a vast people, "whose ¹rulers are of themselves." Religion is a matter of ¹right. The various peculiar forms of ¹worship are ¹optional. There is no union of Church and State; the Government neither ¹knows nor can know any religious system. By ¹solemn supreme law all sects, and therefore the ¹clergy of all sects, are equal. They cannot legally ¹interfere with politics except as ¹individual citizens. The officers of the civil system are equally ¹prohibited from upholding any sect in theology, or even ¹religion itself, in the management of the affairs of State.

Adoration of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe is interwoven with every lineament of our government. The Supreme Head, the ¹acknowledged and only ruler of the United States, is ¹God.

* See the Thinker, Part II., pages 114-121-124-128-131-151-176. Also, Thinker, Part III., pages 41-44-66 and 126.

† See Origin and Progress of Government, page 32; also, pages 46 and 47 of American Manual.

‡ There is a motto on many of the national coins, IN GOD WE TRUST.



Thomas Jefferson

AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND OF JEFFERSON'S
MANUAL.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A DECLARATION by the representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled. Passed, Thursday, July 4, 1776.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God, *entitle them*, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes *destructive of* these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments, long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of *an absolute* tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses, repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise;

the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges *dependent on* his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock-trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For *cutting off* our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us, without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein *an arbitrary* government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it, at once, an example and a fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally, the forms of our government:—For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us, in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us *out of his protection*, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the *executioners of* their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.—In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of

attempts, by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, *acquiesce in* the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority, of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things, which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of *Divine Providence*, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.



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